2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

KNOWLEDGE AND TEACHING

868 Beside the crafts already mentioned, Papago knowledge included some techniques in counting, measuring and time reckoning. Any individual knew the measurements connected with his craft and those who had older relatives versed in history or star lore [576] might pick up these also. But for a young person to question an older one was considered forward and discourteous so one desiring to learn merely haunted the society of an older relative until information was offered. If he had no relative with the desired knowledge, his chances of learning were small, since prolonged contacts with people outside the family were few.

COUNTING AND MEASURING

802 211 Papago has words for the numbers up to ten; the one for ten definitely meaning "all the fingers". Other numbers are expressed as multiples of ten. For 100, the Spanish word *cien* is used. The Papago, in ancient times, rarely counted as high as this, nor had they a word for it. The expression which indicated counting was "to cut the notches" or "to lay down the sticks". This was done when making an appointment more than the ritual four days ahead. Ten, twelve or sixteen were the usual numbers, indicated by a stick with the proper number of notches or a bundle of small sticks. The recipient marked off a notch every day until the proper time or stood the sticks up in a row and laid one down each day.

802 211 524 In scoring for games, the Papago, according to Culin, used as much as 100 grains of corn[1] but they need not count to 100. Both sides drew from a common pile, uncounted and, when this was exhausted, played until one side had acquired all the corn of the other. In this way, even several hundred grains could be used without the necessity of naming the numbers.

802 211 Another occasion for counting was when one village "sang for" another and every householder among the singers had to receive a gift. On the night before the ceremony, the singers sent to their hosts a bundle of sticks representing the household heads in their party who might be as many as thirty or forty. However, they were not necessarily counted. The messenger connected a name with each stick and in the council meeting of the hosts, he held the sticks

[1] Culin, p. 354.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

with maguey cord so that they were about three inches apart. A short length of maguey cord with heavy knots at both ends was also used. The stick was made of catclaw (Acacia greggii) cut to the height of the player and with the end bent at the angle of a ladle.

The playing ground was a cleared space about "one hundred steps" long. If there were no trees at either end to mark it, sticks of cactus rib would be set up. The players all gathered in the middle and threw up the ball. It was picked up and thrown with the sticks, the aim being to carry it past the opponents' goal. The myths tell of women travelling from village to village to play this game, so enthusiastically that they left their babies uncared for. Spanish missionary nuns, as late as two generations ago, confiscated the sticks and burned them in order to get the womens' attention for household tasks.

The children's games can be played without betting though small wagers are not uncommon.

The ring and pin game is played with a stick of hard wood to which is attached a buckskin thong or a string of yucca fibre about eighteen inches long. The cord is strung with five rings made by slicing through a small squash when it is fresh. The pulp dries out and the circular strips of rind shrink until they resemble flat leather rings, from four to two inches in diameter and with an opening at least an inch across. The largest is placed nearest the tip of the stick and the smallest at the end, where it is kept from falling off by a solid tab of squash rind. The game is to swing the cord and then impale as many rings as possible on the stick.

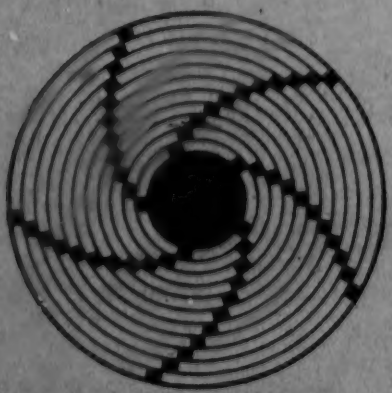

Fig. 5.

Papago Basket Designs used for Game Scoring.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

524 For each ring caught, the player scores a point but if he catches all five, he scores ten. Scoring is done by moving pebbles from mark to mark along a helix, counter clockwise. In old times, the bottom of a basket was used for the purpose, and, if the "coyote track" design were used, the squares of the pattern formed the stopping places for the counters. Even now, when children mark the design on a piece of cardboard, they always make, at the central starting point, the plaited square with which a Papago coiled basket begins. The game was long or short according to the size of the basket, the final mark being called "menstrual hut" since these were always built away from the village, while the central starting point was Big House, or council house, which was the village center.

A variant of this was to toss a bone into the air and catch it on the end of a split stick. The bone was tossed high and two children, their sticks split into two or three openings, fought to catch it.

Boys tossed up a bundle of leaves or rags and shot arrows at it, the boy who hit it taking the arrows of those who missed.

Women and children played cat's cradle, of which some thirty versions were mentioned.

Even very young children used the racetrack, cheered and sometimes gambled on by their older relatives. "I ran every day," said an old woman, "until I was old enough to grind the corn." (fifteen years). "When I was not nearly as high as my father's shoulder said a man (2), my uncles used to bet on me. They said I would grow up to be a racer."

INTERVILLAGE GAMES

526 In the good old days to which informants look back, there was an intervillage contest every year at kickball, long distance racing or relay racing. The same intervillage contests are reported for the Tarahumare,[1] Opata,[2] and for the Acaxee; another Piman-Sonoran group[3] The Papago games took pl[illegible] in November, when the harvest was in, but all the residents were still at the summer village However, the challenge had usually been issued in spring or even in the previous autumn. The contestants might be two villages in the same group, two groups, or one or more groups against the Pima. If villages from two separate groups had runners who wished to race, they never thought of doing so without the support of their partners. Thus for years the whole Archie group backed one runner who was at Mesquite Root and who ran successively against the Koloti and the Pimas.

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[1] Oulin, p. 672. [2] Ibid. 666. [3] Beals 1933, pp. 11—33.

3; Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

how hungry you are. Wait till it has scum on it. So you will be a runner and not a fat man." 159x 264

When we had finished we did not wash the dishes. How could we, with no water! We scooped food out with our knuckles. The boys used two knuckles because men have time to eat. We girls used three because women must hurry and work. When we were through it was only my father who could wipe his fingers between his toes. That was because he was a warrior and had killed enemies. The rest of us wiped them on the ground and rubbed our hands together. I do not like water on my dishes even now. They feel so smooth. [701]

Then we made our toilet. We washed our faces in a little cold water, but we did not bathe. Rubbing yourself with earth does just as well. Then the older girls painted themselves with beautiful red paint, all in dots and splashes. I went out to play. 159x 615 302

I played with the boys and girls who were children of my uncles. Brothers and sisters, we call them. We had no clothes, any of us, but we were not cold. We went to a sunny place and made ourselves dolls of mesquite leaves tied with strings of corn husk for arms and legs and head. We had a little stone for the grinding slab and some sand for the corn. The boys had men dolls and they would take them away and say: "We go hunting." "Well, go," said the wives. Then the boys would hunt all around the village and find a deer bone. "Here is a deer for you." 159x 857 [291] [524]

Sometimes the boys went to get rats. They poked them out of the holes and hit them with sticks. Then we roasted them on sticks with the skins on. Good food, that used to be! [262]

Sometimes we went to run races. We had a good racetrack in our village. Our men had cleared a road that ran across the flat land as far as you could see, and every day they swept it with greasewood branches to keep off the thorns. They had a song: 159x 526 [533]

The hawk made the race-track
And on it we won
A-a-ah!

We ran with the hawk
And won a Hawk's heart
A-a-ah!

All our young men and girls practised on that racetrack so they could run fast against the other villages. We children ran, too. Every day I ran until I was ten years old and had to be doing the house work.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

X539 children and it will get you." He thought one day that he would go and find what the thing was. He went to that place and before he got there he saw many flint stones and he picked up some sharp ones and went toward the place where the thing lived. (It was a large animal said to have lived in the water.) Before he knew it the animal came out and said, "Where does this little thing come from? The children around here are afraid of me. I will swallow this little thing." He swallowed the little boy, but before the little boy died he looked around and saw a thin place. He struck at this thin place with his flint, cut it, and got out. He started back home but stopped to see what the animal would do and he saw it fall over.

[524]

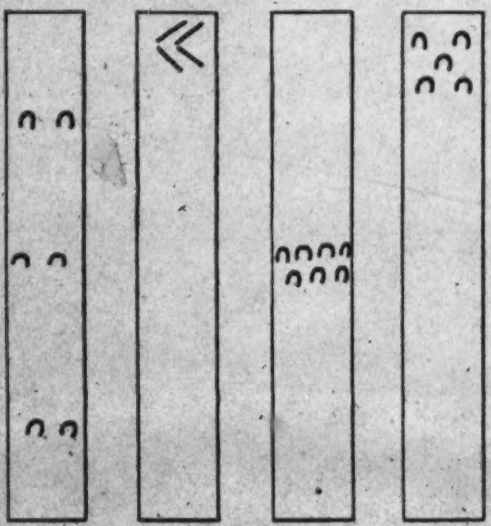


FIG. 1.—Implements used in bamboo game

He went home. When the old woman got back he said, "I went to that place where you told me not to go and I was swallowed by the animal but I killed him and have come home." The old woman could not believe it, so the boy took her over and showed her the animal. The old woman thought at once that the little fellow would follow in the footsteps of his father and uncle. The next day he was going out again and she told him not to go as something in another part of the village was ugly and killed children all the time. After she had gone the boy went over that way to see what strange sort of thing it might be and stood next to a tree. A big snake was lying down. He looked over and saw the boy by the tree. The snake fairly flew over and hit the tree with his head. He was going so fast that this killed him. The boy went home as before, took the old woman over and showed her the dead snake.

He lived with his grandmother several years. When he was old enough to understand it thoroughly the old woman related the life of his father and uncle and finally came to the manner of their death. While she told him this story the little boy cried. When he stopped

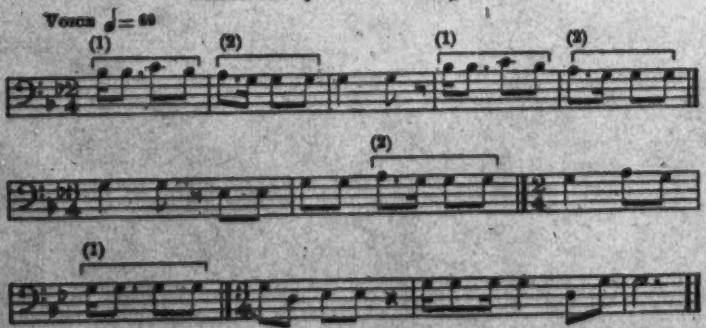
6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

crying he said that he did not know that was the way they were killed, but now he understood. He said that he was going back home to get even with his grandfather. Then the old woman said, "My grandson, I don't believe you can do it; the man is old, you are young and you have not so much magic power as he. I do not think you can do it." The boy said, "I will see my grandfather and find out whether he has as much power as I, for I want to get even with him." She asked the boy to tell what he intended to use in killing his grandfather. The boy said he would take some bamboo. They had only one piece originally and four joints had been cut off for making the flutes, so the old woman cut off four pieces, each one joint in length. After she had done this the little fellow said he would take those pieces but he did not know just which one of them he would use. So he took the four bamboos. No. 1 is called "Old woman," and he took this first. With his medicine power he made it fly. It went just a little distance and fell down. No. 2 was called "Old man." This went a little higher, but it also fell down. No. 3 was called "Black in the middle," and that went up still higher but not high enough. No. 4 bamboo was called "Head." (These designs, sketched from a set in actual use, are shown in fig. 1.) He made the fourth bamboo fly up and it went up to the sky and descended to the ground. The old woman had been watching. The boy said, "This is the one; I think I can do it with this one alone." Just as he was getting ready to leave the old woman called him to her. He stood before her, and she put her hands on his shoulders and said she would do something to him so he could not be seen and would reach his destination safely. She sang the following song for him:

No. 32. Song to Make the Boy Invisible

(Catalogue No. 973)

Recorded by SIVARIANO GARCIA



FREE TRANSLATION

My poor grandchild, my poor grandchild,
It is the head gaming stick that always wins,
Throw it forward.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

FLUTE MELODY NO. 2 (P. 218)

Recorded by SYVANIANO GARCIA

533 *Analysis.*—This melody contains one tone less than the preceding and is less definite in form. The tones are the simpler tones of the instrument and the rhythm is simple, diversified by rests. The tempo was steadily maintained. The effect produced by this record is that of a performance rather than the playing of a definite melody. It is as though the performer had at his command certain melodic and rhythmic material and produced it according to his fancy. The first three measures form a pleasing phrase which is once repeated. This is followed by a repetition of the original phrase. The measures not transcribed did not differ from the earlier portion of the song and the tones are indistinct. These are followed by a new phrase, after which the player returned to the opening phrase of the song. The record is about one and a half minutes in length and the phrase which follows the untranscribed measures is of frequent occurrence on the remainder of the cylinder.

524 The foregoing story mentioned the "bamboo game" (*ecapuda*) which is a favorite game of the Papago at the present time. It is described as a "hidden ball game" by Stewart Culin.[8]

In the bamboo game there are two opposing players, each having an assistant. Any number of spectators may be seated around them. The game implements consist of two pairs of short bamboo reeds (see p. 73), two small red beans, 100 grains of corn for keeping count of the points won, and five short sticks for keeping count of the games played. The reeds are filled with sand and a red bean is concealed in one of each pair. Each player in turn hides the bean, his opponent guessing which reed contains it. After the guess has been made the player's assistant empties the sand from the two reeds, showing which contained the bean.

The player seated at the right in Plate 11, *a*, is holding his pair of reeds while the player at the left is preparing to guess which reed holds the red bean. The player's assistant is emptying the reed in Plate 11, *b*. The grouping shown in Plate 11, *c*, would occur only when two or three grains of corn remain, these not being enough to register the usual score for a successful guess. In such a case the players put the remaining corn in a pile and each side takes a pair of reeds and conceals a bean. Thus both sides are hiding and both sides are guessing. Whichever side guesses correctly receives the corn. The pictures accompanying this and the description of the "stick game" were posed at San Xavier by Indians who habitually play these games.

[8] Games of the North American Indians. Twenty-fourth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., 1907, p. 846.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

524
291
516

a, Preparing to play

b, Conclusion of play

c, Preparing to settle a close score

BAMBOO GAME AT SAN XAVIER

[p. 78-A]

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

524
516
291

a, Preparing to play

b, Watching sticks in the air

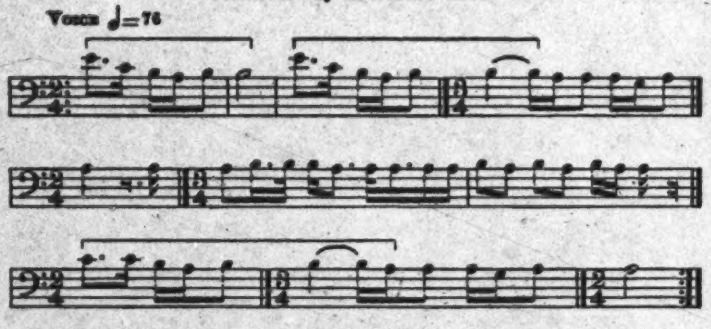
c, Counting the score

STICK GAME AT SAN XAVIER

[p. 78-B]

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

No. 44. "It Is Time to Pay Your Wager"
(Catalogue No. 977)
Recorded by LEONARDO RIOS

X 533

TRANSLATION

The time is come to pay your wager;
The time is come.

Analysis.—This is an interesting example of a minor melody in which the tone below the keynote is used effectively. It is also an example of a melody with four rhythmic periods in which the rhythm of the third period is different from that of the others. Twenty of the twenty-seven progressions are whole tones.

524

The "stick game" (*ginakut*) is played every afternoon at San Xavier, a set of sticks being concealed under a cactus ready for use. This is a dice game, the sticks being dice.[9] Songs Nos. 43 and 44 are commonly sung to bring success in the game. The four gaming sticks are made of the rib of the saguaro cactus, which is smooth and hard. The decorations are shown in Figure 2. The lines on No. 1 indicate the four days' fasting of a warrior on his return from a victory, on No. 2 they represent bird's claws, on No. 3 they represent the rays of the sun, and on No. 4 they represent the lines of paint on the face of a warrior.[10] The ground is marked with dots arranged as in Figure 3. The loop at the corner is called a "house." The dice sticks are thrown upward by one player after another, and the score counted by the position of the sticks when they fall on the ground. Each player has a different article that he moves along the dotted lines in accordance with the score that he makes. One player, for instance, may use a bone and another the bowl of an old spoon in counting his score. In the description of the game given the writer it appears that all the players start from one "house." In the play described by Culin it appears that only two are playing and they start from opposite corners. The object in each case is to progress around the square to the point of starting

[9] Stewart Culin, op. cit., p. 149. Cf. also Russell, op. cit., pp. 175-177.
[10] Cf. a somewhat different marking on p. 66.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

and to "reenter the house." If one player overtakes another at a counting hole, he sends that player back to the "house," or starting point. The manner of play as described at San Xavier is as follows: A player takes the four dice sticks in his hands and rests them on a stone so the ends are exactly together; then he lifts them up and strikes them sharply with the stone (pl. 12, *a*), thus projecting them into the air. When they fall, the score is counted and the player's article (bone, or bowl of spoon) advanced the proper number of dots on the ground. In Plate 12, *b*, the sticks are in the air and may be discerned as white lines against the foliage of the background. In Plate 12, *c*, the sticks have fallen, the score has been computed, and the player in the center of the foreground is moving forward the article with which he keeps his score. The score used at San Xavier differs somewhat from that described by Culin. It was said that if all the sticks fell with the decorated side uppermost the score was 5, if only three fell thus the score was 3. If all fell with the plain side uppermost the score was 10. If only one stick fell with the decorated side uppermost the score depended upon the decoration of that stick. If No. 1 were the only

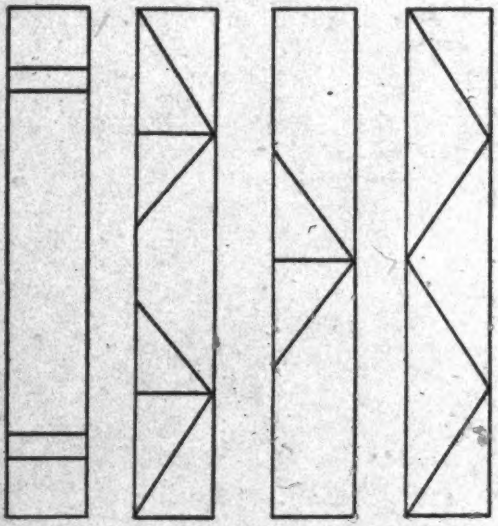


FIG. 2.—Implements used in stick game

FIG. 3.—Diagram of ground on which stick game is played. (From a native drawing.)

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

524 one thus exposed the score was 4; No. 2 gave a score of 6; No. 3 counted 14, and No. 4 counted 15, the other three sticks, of course, falling with the plain or undecorated side uppermost.

[525] Both of these games are usually witnessed by a number of spectators, and there is considerable betting on the result.

TREATMENT OF THE SICK

753 It is the belief of the Papago that only a portion of human illnesses and ailments are due to material causes. The portion thus attributed consists of bruises, cuts, and minor bodily discomforts, but what we term "major illnesses" are explained in a different manner. The causes for these are believed to be psychic in character. Certain illnesses were attributed to sorcery and the treatment of such illnesses was in reality a contest between the psychic ("medicine" or "magic") power of the doctor and that of the person believed to be working the evil on the patient. Part of the doctor's skill consisted in his ability to determine who was working the evil, after which he matched his power against that of his adversary. If his power were the stronger his patient would recover; if his were the weaker the man would die. Other illnesses were attributed to spirit birds and animals, to the spirits of the dead, and to other causes of like nature, but in every instance the cause of the disease imparted the secret of its cure to some medicine man, or "doctor." Singing formed a part of the [533] treatment of the sick and the songs were imparted together with instructions for the treatment. Herbs and other material remedies were sometimes administered, but the knowledge of their use was supposed to be obtained in "dreams."

756 The term "doctor" will generally be used in this chapter to designate a man who treats the sick. The term "medicine man" is more general in its application and may be applied to anyone who achieves results by "magic." The power of a medicine man was psychic in its character and, continuing this terminology, a medicine man may be regarded as a "developed psychic." He might use his power in treating the sick, or he might be a clairvoyant, or he might use his power to evil ends, thus developing his power in the way he desired.

753 The Papago have a tradition that sickness was scattered abroad when Earth Magician disappeared into the ground. (See p. 21.) Comparison with the beliefs of certain other tribes makes it clear that the "sickness" thus spread abroad was not a definite ailment but a general disposition toward illness which became present in the air. A parallel in our own thought is the statement that "the air is full of

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

Harimak. He had acted as leader of the entire tiswin ceremony. His father was chief and he would have inherited the office at his father's death, as he was the oldest son, but he was so reluctant to accept the office that he left the village. He remained away several years until the people sent for him and the Government representative in charge of the reservation authorized his election as chief. The village obtained its name in the following manner: A war party killed a certain animal, brought home its head and put it in a tree. One of the early priests saw this and asked what they called it. They could not explain, and he said it was the head of a *Pisin* (Spanish word). After that time the village was called Pisinamak, the latter part of the word meaning "head" in the Papago language. Hendricks is chief at Vomari village.

Antoin related the following origin of the custom of making and drinking tiswin and said the incident took place at his village. There was once a woman who had a little boy. She wanted to go to another village to play *thoka* (a woman's game), so she put the child [a] to bed, placed food and water beside him, and left him alone. After a while the child awakened, ate the food, and followed his mother. He came to where they were playing the game and sat down. A woman running around in the game would see the child and say, "I found a little child;" and the mother would say, "Let him alone; he belongs to me." When the game was finished the mother took up the child, tied a cloth around his head, and stuck a feather in the cloth. Then the little boy went and played with the other children. All went well until the other children began to tease the little boy, saying he was too proud of his feather. The child stood it as long as he could, then he said that perhaps there was something inside his head of which he could be more proud than of his feather. He made a circle on the ground, stood inside it and began to sink into the ground. Some of the children said, "We had better tell his mother." One child ran and told, but when his mother got there he had sunk entirely out of sight except the feather. His mother took that out, then she went to work and called the badger, who is the best digger, and told him to catch up to the boy and bring him back. The badger dug as hard as possible but he could not overtake the boy. Then the mother called all the birds together and said, "Which of you can find a lost boy?" The crow said, "I think I can find him." The crow started and found the boy in the Kiyota Mountains. He returned and told the mother. Then the people said, "Let us go to the Kiyota Mountains and see how the boy looks." They went and found the boy standing there. The mother wanted him to go home, but the boy said, "No; I want to stay in the hills, but I will be of use to my people." Then he turned slowly into a saguaro cactus and told the people what to do. He told

[a] Throughout this narrative the term used to designate this boy is Ali, the Papago term for "child."

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

ject with their poles. Each game was played with much agility and lasted only a few minutes, the participants keenly enjoying the sport. Formerly as many as twenty women on each side took part in this game.

I ventured to take snapshots and, strange to relate, it was not resented. A boy showed me how to swing a bull-roarer, and we all had a good time. Though the wearing apparel of these people and most of their utensils came from the white man's store, still, neither English nor Spanish was spoken, only Papago. They behaved something like natives who have not been much in contact with whites, and these "poor heathen" were the nicest Papagoes I met on my whole expedition. The entertaining crowd would sometimes retire as one man, then after a while they would return again; they were curious without being troublesome. One of the humorous sisters told me that in the rancheria of Santa Rosa, which was my next goal, there was much to be seen that would interest me, if I made friends with the principal men. She also had a house there, she said, which was at our disposal, and she gave us directions as to how to find it, for Santa Rosa was a big place.

It is, in fact, the largest summer rancheria in the Papago tribe, and people from several clusters of winter habitations gather here to the number of about five hundred. The houses are scattered over an area of nearly two miles square. Its native name is Kuátshi (Big Peak). I entered this old-fashioned rancheria with much expectancy of gaining further knowledge of the beliefs and customs of these people. Water from the

17:Castetter & Underhill N.E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

ritual songs. Then each separately approached the neophyte 783
and blew tobacco smoke over him, auguring success for his 276
future. In the case of a man who had killed an enemy, those who blew the smoke held in their mouths one of two roots, yerba mansa *(Anemopsis californica)* or an unidentified sweet-scented grass, according to the section of the tribe to which the neophyte belonged.

Corn meal was sprinkled on the sea during the cere- 788
monial expedition to secure salt. It was also sprinkled on the ground in front of the singers at the harvest dance. Finally, it was taken in the hand as an offering when a ceremonial favor was requested.

GAMES

The Papagos played the usual games common to the 526
Indians of the Southwest (8). Kickball was played by men with a sphere of mesquite wood *(Prosopis velutina)* about the size of a modern croquet ball. Or the ball might be a pebble embedded in a sphere of mesquite gum. Women played double ball, a form of shinny, with a "ball" made of two hanks of agave fiber cord tied together with two inches of string. Or they might use two deer knuckle bones in the same way. The stick was a peeled wand of ocotillo, slightly curved at one end.

The game known as *kinyiskuḥt* was like our parchesi, 524
played outdoors on a square the size of a room, marked out by stones and with smooth round stones as the moving pieces. Each move was decided by a throw of four dice. These were sections of giant cactus rib *(Carnegia gigantea)* about eight inches long with patterns marked with red clay and blue soot of creosote bush *(Covillea glutinosa)*. Women played dice with sticks made from the split halves of ironwood sticks *(Olneya tesota)*. The convex side of each was blackened with soot and the straight side left white. Each woman threw four and the score depended on the number of white and black sides which fell upward.

17:Castetter & Underhill N.E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

524 The game of hidden ball was played by hiding a wild bean *(Phaseolus acutifolius)* in one of four tubes of cane variously marked in red and blue. All the tubes were filled with sand and the guesser had to determine which of them held the bean. Or the bean might be hidden in one of four mounds of sand. The "chips" for keeping score were corn kernels. The Papagos also played the "hand game" in which the members of one side hold sticks of two or more colors in their closed fists and the members of the other guess their position. The sticks were two-inch lengths of creosote bush, natural white or blackened with soot.

The ring and pin game was played with a ten-inch length of creosote bush as the pin. To its butt end was attached an eighteen-inch buckskin thong, on which were strung eight discs of dried pumpkin rind about three inches in diameter with an inch-wide hole in the middle. The game was to throw up the rings and, as they came down, run the point of the stick through as many as possible.

526 541 Dried pumpkin had another use, half play and half ceremonial. When one village was challenging another to games, two heralds came ahead of the main party. It was the custom of the challenged village to run the heralds out of town after their announcement by pelting them with dried pumpkin peduncles. This may have been symbolic of a war challenge.

526 857 Papago children played cat's cradle with lengths of agave fiber and cotton string. They made dolls of leaves stuck together with twigs, or sometimes of deer bones dressed in scraps of buckskin.